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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 23rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHIRILA (Romania)
(Vice-Chairman)

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AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued)

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In the absence of Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka), Mr. Chirila (Romania), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 87: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS (continued) (A/48/158, A/48/173, A/48/291-S/26242, A/48/349-S/26358, A/48/403/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1-S/26450/Add.1 and Add.1/Corr.1, A/48/515-S/26605; A/C.4/48/L.18 and L.19)

1. Mr. SALMI (Finland), speaking on behalf of Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland, said that the Nordic countries had strongly supported the concept of peace-keeping from the very beginning and participated in nearly all related activities. They had taken an active part in the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations with the aim of streamlining and strengthening the United Nations capacity for peace-keeping operations and improving their cost-effectiveness.

2. Over the years, in response to the increasing demands on the Organization, a broadened security concept had strengthened the links between the political, military and civilian aspects of peace-keeping. The United Nations was currently endeavouring to create the political structures needed for long-term peaceful and democratic development. Peace-keeping operations thus often included civilian police, election officers, human rights monitors and political advisers. In addition to dealing with traditional conflicts between States, the United Nations was being called upon increasingly also to help solve internal conflicts.

3. The rapid increase in both the size and complexity of peace-keeping operations required greater resources and better planning, organization and coordination both at Headquarters and in the field, and they must be managed in a more effective and responsible manner. Regional organizations and arrangements had an important role to play in the efforts to strengthen the United Nations capacity to maintain international peace and security, with cooperative arrangements elaborated on the basis of a clear division of labour.

4. Peace-keeping should always be linked to a political process, either as a way of helping to find political solutions or of implementing negotiated agreements. Most of the problems encountered in peace-keeping operations had their roots in inadequate personnel or material and financial resources. The most difficult and urgent question was how to improve the financial situation of the Organization. Each new mission entrusted to the Organization by the Member States must be given the resources needed to carry it out; that would, in particular, allow the troop-contributing countries to be promptly reimbursed for both personnel and equipment. At the same time, it was clear that the United Nations must use its resources with maximum efficiency. The Nordic countries thus looked forward to the results of the discussions in the Fifth Committee on the report prepared by the Independent Advisory Group on United Nations Financing.

(Mr. Salmi, Finland)

5. The speed with which the United Nations could deploy the needed personnel into a mission area was one of the crucial factors for the success of peace-keeping operations. To improve the current situation, the United Nations should have stand-by staff who could take part from the start in the planning and the preparatory phase of an operation. It should also be able to draw at short notice upon a sufficient number of trained and equipped units and personnel, both military and civilian. The division of responsibility between the United Nations and the troop-contributing countries should be clarified. The United Nations should be responsible for making the necessary overall arrangements for providing logistical and administrative support. The troop-contributing countries, on the other hand, should furnish their troops with the necessary equipment. Those countries able to do so should earmark military and civilian troops for stand-by arrangements or else earmark equipment and means of transport. The Member States should keep updated lists of personnel and equipment made available to the United Nations, which would draw upon them as needed. The personnel should be trained by making use of existing facilities of Member States, in cooperation when possible with regional organizations or arrangements. The Secretariat should establish guidelines, coordinate the training and provide other forms of assistance.

6. Guaranteeing respect for the safety of peace-keeping personnel was an extremely urgent issue. In addition to the legal steps currently being discussed in the Sixth Committee, it was essential to take concrete action for the physical protection of the personnel, and to lay down clear, effective operating procedures.

7. The Nordic countries welcomed the establishment of a situation centre giving up-to-date information on certain peace-keeping operations, and would also like to have the Secretariat report regularly on all operations.

8. In view of the expansion of peace-keeping operations, the Secretariat should be strengthened as proposed in the programme budget of the Organization. The Nordic countries approved of the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. However, neither organizational changes nor the reallocation of existing Secretariat staff would be enough. A thorough revision of working methods and administrative procedures was also needed. In particular, the submission of budget proposals for peace-keeping operations should be speeded up, especially by using standardized cost estimates. Current arrangements for the political direction, military command and control and overall coordination of the operations needed to be strengthened, as did the mechanism for consultation and exchange of information between the Secretariat, members of the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries.

9. The ambitions, tasks and goals as well as the limits of peace-keeping should be carefully studied and weighed against the actual willingness of Member States to provide the necessary resources and participate in the operations. Also, a common understanding should be reached on the concepts, terminology and operational framework involved in the new generation of extended peace-keeping operations. The Nordic countries themselves, despite the public criticism

(Mr. Salmi, Finland)

directed at peace-keeping operations, reiterated their strong support for peace-keeping activities and their continued willingness to participate in them.

10. Mr. KA (Senegal) said that a number of requirements must be met when a peace-keeping operation was launched: there must be a clear and precise definition of its mandate, proper planning, and a publicity campaign on the objectives sought. The success of the operation also required skilled and coordinated personnel who were prepared to respect the customs and usages prevailing in the areas of action.

11. The availability of the necessary financing and of appropriate logistical means was also an essential condition for the success of such operations. Since the financial problems encountered by the Organization resulted mainly from the non-payment of contributions by Member States, especially the developing countries, which had been hard hit by a difficult economic and financial situation, greater sacrifice on the part of the developed countries must be encouraged. In that respect, the establishment of the Peace-keeping Reserve Fund was to be welcomed; however, there should be an increase in its initial level. As to the mandate for peace-keeping operations, it should be better defined and more clearly explained with the help of the Department of Public Information.

12. The difficulties encountered in peace-keeping operations demonstrated the need to tackle the deep-seated causes of current crises, so as to limit the number and consequences of such crises. In that respect, preventive diplomacy had a significant role to play. Greater cooperation between the United Nations and regional bodies would be desirable. Moreover, if Member States maintained stand-by forces specialized in peace-keeping operations, rapid and effective deployment would be possible if the need arose. An increase in assistance to the development of poor countries would also help reduce tension, much of which derived from rivalry among human groups for survival. The ultimate objective of the Organization would not be achieved unless it was able to replace peace-keeping operations by development and to support democratic processes that were under way in order to establish conditions for a world order based on a spirit of partnership and solidarity.

13. Mr. HATANO (Japan), offering some suggestions for the improvement of peace-keeping operations, said that it must be recognized, at the planning and preparation stage, that every international conflict was unique, and was shaped by the historical, ethnic and social experiences of the parties in dispute. When the Security Council decided to launch a peace-keeping operation, it should have the most accurate information possible regarding the nature and probable development of the conflict. Member States with superior information-gathering capabilities should provide the United Nations with relevant data. Fact-finding missions should be dispatched promptly to sites of conflict. It would be useful to strengthen cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements in maintaining peace.

14. The mandate and period of deployment of a peace-keeping operation should be determined on the basis of the nature and goals of the operation. A sunset

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

clause could be introduced to avoid any undue prolongation of deployment. Once a peace-keeping operation was mandated, it must be promptly deployed and fully equipped. Preparedness for emergency deployment should be discussed by the Secretariat with possible troop-contributing countries. In that respect, the possibility of establishing a data bank on the capabilities of Member States deserved consideration. The Special Committee's recommendations regarding the organization and effectiveness of peace-keeping personnel should also be discussed by the Secretariat and Member States. The planning and management capabilities of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations needed to be strengthened.

15. The deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation was not a substitute for the political settlement of a conflict. The role of the United Nations in fostering the peace process was catalytic in nature. In that context, peace-keeping operations were only one factor in a chain of efforts - from conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes to peace-building, including the reconstruction of the country or region concerned.

16. On the question of the financing of peace-keeping activities, every peace-keeping operation must be thoroughly reviewed and a cost-benefit analysis must be performed. In that way, some activities could be scaled down and the launching of unnecessary new operations could be avoided. The Peace-keeping Reserve Fund, which had been established on the initiative of Japan to ensure the availability of adequate resources for start-up costs of new operations, should be promptly funded in accordance with General Assembly resolution 47/217. The United Nations financial control mechanisms for peace-keeping operations should be improved through a system of internal and external controls, including audit and inspection.

17. On the question of safety of personnel, his delegation noted with appreciation the discussions under way in the Sixth Committee on the formulation of an international legal instrument regarding the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel. It wished to stress that the objectives of peace-keeping operations could not be achieved without the understanding, assistance and support of the population of the host country. The host country therefore had an obligation to inform the population about the role, mandate and function of a peace-keeping operation within its borders and to inform the peace-keepers of any dangers or military developments which could jeopardize their lives. The authorities of host countries should be required to punish those who took any hostile action against United Nations personnel. It would also be helpful to raise public awareness in participating countries of the achievements of peace-keeping personnel.

18. Peace-keeping personnel affected by epidemic and endemic disease outnumbered those killed by hostile actions. Host countries and the relevant bodies of the United Nations must therefore pay greater attention to improving sanitary conditions in the field.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

19. In conclusion, he referred to Japan's adoption of the International Peace Cooperation Law in 1992 by which it legally institutionalized its participation in United Nations peace-keeping efforts.

20. Mr. POLOWCZYK (Poland) said that the soaring demand on peace-keeping operations, together with the substantial evolution of the mandates, had been followed by Poland with great attention and sometimes with concern. The operations carried out by the United Nations were deviating more and more from the so-called traditional concepts such as the supervision of elections, economic rehabilitation and development, emergency humanitarian assistance and human rights monitoring. Although considering the situation to be in the right direction, Poland was anxious about the growing tendency to resort to peace-keeping operations as the only panacea for the solution of conflicts throughout the world. It seemed that there was still no adequate balance between peace-keeping and other mechanisms of the crisis management. Poland had in mind specifically greater involvement of the parties to conflicts by solving them politically and by early detection of conflict situations allowing preventive diplomacy.

21. Preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and peace enforcement required sound guidelines and detailed planning in operational terms. The results of the current session of the Special Committee of Peace-keeping Operations and other formal and informal forums within the United Nations left us assured about the international community's determination to achieve significant progress in that regard.

22. The new tasks, in the dynamic period of the world's transition, were more complex, difficult and more important than in the past, and the difficulties were aggravated by the scarcity of resources at the disposal of the United Nations Secretariat. In that context Poland fully supported the Secretary-General's efforts to reorganize the Secretariat and strengthen its peace-keeping management and planning capacity. Poland welcomed with great satisfaction the latest decision to transfer the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations. It should be followed by steps to strengthen the Secretariat's capability for overall, including political, evaluation and analysis of peace-keeping operations from their initial stages to their conclusion. Poland also welcomed the process of transforming the "situation room" into a "centre" equipped with appropriate communications and information management systems to monitor and enhance the management of all peace-keeping operations. Poland followed with great interest the work of the Stand-by Forces Planning Team and was willing to assign a number of military units to be at the Security Council's disposal for use in the peace-keeping operations on a permanent basis.

23. The problems concerning clarity of the mandate of peace-keeping operations, their time-frame and management required special attention of the United Nations. Those operations were only temporary arrangements which could not be substituted for a political solution of the conflicts primarily by the parties involved. The Security Council should therefore reconsider periodically and, if

(Mr. Polowczyk, Poland)

there was such a need, even determine operations whose mandates had become unworkable.

24. One of the ways of making peace-keeping more effective was a constructive interaction between the United Nations and regional arrangements. There was a need to maintain close cooperation between the Secretariat and Member States, particularly the troop-contributing countries. That might result in deploying operations of joint national units composed of troops from several smaller countries in cooperation with countries able to provide troops but had only a limited personnel. Poland was ready to continue providing logistic units for peace-keeping operations.

25. Poland which had participated actively in eight peace-keeping operations was ready to share them with interested countries. In particular, the resources of the Kielce Military Centre were available for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

26. Owing to the growing number of casualties among both military and civilian peace-keepers Poland fully supported the idea of a universally binding legal instrument, possibly a convention on the safety and security of the personnel of peace-keeping operations.

27. In conclusion, his delegation reiterated its support for the idea of establishing a memorial in the United Nations Headquarters to all peace-keepers who had given their lives.

28. Mr. SIDOROV (Russian Federation) said that, although the danger of thermonuclear conflict between the major Powers had disappeared, the world was facing a new generation of conflicts and wars triggered by nationalist, political and religious intolerance which entailed enormous economic and humanitarian problems difficult to solve. In spite of the difficulties the Russian Federation noted with satisfaction that much had been done through joint efforts to adapt United Nations peacemaking activity to new realities. The United Nations operation in Cambodia was the most successful so far. Unfortunately, the key to the solution of many other conflicts had not yet been found and, in that context, the Russian Federation deplored the fact that some States, while placing their growing hopes on United Nations peace-keeping, often demonstrated their impatience and even a negative attitude and were not in a hurry to make a practical contribution. The Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", was a tangible contribution, from which the Security Council derived specific definitions and comprehensive priorities. The Russian Federation fully supported the recommendation of the Security Council that all States should consider their participation in international peace-keeping activities and their international security policy.

29. The Russian Federation participated in various ways for several peace-keeping operations within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the United Nations, especially in the adjacent countries, in spite of the limits of their economic and political possibilities. As for the type of operations in

(Mr. Sidorov, Russian Federation)

its neighbouring countries, the Russian Federation would like to find, together with the United Nations and CSCE, more efficient forms of cooperation in peace-keeping forces with adequate legal status, and we would prefer it, if the principle of equitable distribution of expenses for the conduct of peace-keeping operations were to be more actively applied, up to the establishment of a voluntary fund for assistance to peace-keeping in that area.

30. In the broader context of United Nations peace-keeping operations, Russian troops were currently serving in the former Yugoslavia, in the Middle East, along the Iraq-Kuwait border, in Western Sahara and in Mozambique. The question of establishing a permanent Russian contingent was being given final consideration. In that connection, the Russian Federation hoped to be able to draw on the valuable experience gained by the United Nations in the training of military and civilian peace-keeping personnel and was prepared to provide the Secretary-General with information and cooperate with the Secretariat in organizing an effective system of preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping activities in general.

31. Recent experience in that area showed how important it was for all operational phases of a peace-keeping operation to be properly organized; that implied carefully orchestrated interaction between national contingents, effective organization of the chain of command and strict rules for the conduct of operations as well as criteria governing the use of force. It was likewise of the utmost importance that new operations should be launched within a framework of well-defined goals for a political settlement.

32. The United Nations had become increasingly involved in preventive diplomacy, information gathering and analysis, confidence-building measures and joint efforts at the global and regional levels, which could greatly enhance traditional peace-keeping efforts. The Russian Federation was prepared, in consultation with other States and the Secretariat, to help with the restructuring of Secretariat services, beginning with the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, in order to maximize efficiency. Measures to improve operations planning and logistical support and coordination between troop-contributing States required special attention. His delegation favoured the establishment of a stand-by forces planning team.

33. With regard to the important question of adequate financing, his delegation favoured a maximum diversification of sources of financing. The problem of the safety of United Nations troops and personnel had recently become a pressing concern. The strongest measures should be taken to prosecute those responsible for attacks and other acts of violence against the Blue Helmets, although vigorous measures to protect United Nations troops should not cause the Organization to become involved in internal disputes.

34. His delegation commended the work that had gone into the preparation of the draft resolutions on a comprehensive review of the question (A/C.4/48/L.18) and on strengthening United Nations command and control capabilities (A/C.4/48/L.19), and hoped that those texts could be adopted by consensus.

35. Mr. HELG (Observer for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)) said that the number and complexity of peace-keeping operations had led ICRC to speak once again on the question of the applicability of international humanitarian law to United Nations peace-keeping forces. International humanitarian law limited the right of the parties to a conflict to choose methods and means of warfare and protected persons and property affected by conflicts. The four Geneva Conventions were binding upon all the parties to an armed conflict, and international humanitarian law applied equally to all armed forces present.

36. The fact that United Nations forces were armed and authorized to use their weapons under certain conditions, not only in cases of self-defence but also in any forceful attempt to prevent them from carrying out their duties, meant that international humanitarian law was applicable to them, particularly the provisions relating to the methods and means of combat, different categories of protected persons, respect for recognized signs (primarily the Red Cross and the Red Crescent), medical personnel and transport.

37. A look at recent peace-keeping operations showed that United Nations forces had been involved - principally in Somalia - in military operations which had produced casualties among both combatants and the civilian population. ICRC believed that reinforcing the applicability of international humanitarian law to United Nations forces, particularly those of rules prohibiting attacks against the civilian population and indiscriminate attacks, ensuring the protection of prisoners, the wounded and the sick, and facilitating relief operations, would help to promote the acceptance of that law by troop-contributing States and the parties to a conflict in a manner consistent with the spirit of various General Assembly resolutions.

38. ICRC was pleased that the United Nations had decided to take steps to familiarize its peace-keeping forces with the principles and rules of international humanitarian law and hoped that States would impose the requisite penal sanctions when that law was breached. He wished to reiterate that ICRC was ready to cooperate in all such efforts. He welcomed the initiative to hold a seminar to train legal advisers in peace-keeping operations.

39. Mr. Chong-Ha YOO (Republic of Korea) said that peace-keeping operations were in a transitional phase which would change the way they were viewed for years to come. Such operations, which were constantly growing in numbers, were being carried out in an increasingly dangerous environment. They must therefore have clear and feasible mandates if their credibility and legitimacy were not to be compromised. For operations to be successful, their mandates must also be regularly reviewed. He welcomed the growing number of informal consultations between the Secretariat and troop-contributing States and hoped that a mechanism for consultation among the major players - the Security Council, the Secretary-General and contributing States - would be created.

40. Experiences in Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina showed that peace-keeping operations were taking place under extremely dangerous conditions. If action was not taken to ensure the safety of personnel, the United Nations would soon have difficulty in mobilizing the necessary political support for such

(Mr. Chong-Ha Yoo, Republic of Korea)

operations. In that connection, he welcomed the initiatives taken recently in the Sixth Committee to formulate a legally binding instrument in that area.

41. Owing to the increase in the number of large-scale operations, the comprehensive planning capability of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations must be strengthened, as the Department remained understaffed. A modest increase in personnel was thus necessary, particularly in the Military Adviser's Office. Member States must be encouraged to make further contributions on a non-reimbursable basis.

42. The effectiveness of peace-keeping operations required adequate human resources and the prompt deployment of troops. His delegation welcomed the measures taken to accelerate that process, particularly the initiative of the Secretary-General to establish a stand-by forces planning team. Deployment could also be sped up in emergencies by pre-stocking equipment and by means of prior arrangements with Member States regarding transport. The growing number of peace-keeping operations had increased the demand for experts and civilian personnel; his delegation therefore welcomed the recent discussions on expansion of the roster of civilian peace-keeping personnel. Steps must be taken to ensure that such personnel met the highest standard of efficiency and competence, and the principle of equitable geographic distribution must be respected.

43. With regard to financial resources, the Republic of Korea supported the proposal to create a unified peace-keeping budgetary system, which would make it unnecessary to make several requests for contributions to Member States each year, requests which they often received in the middle of their budget cycle. The new system would also provide the Secretary-General with greater flexibility in dealing with unanticipated expenditures at the outset of new operations and a sound mechanism for allocating financial resources.

44. Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia) said that the issues raised 37 years ago regarding the use of armed forces by the Organization in the form of the United Nations Emergency Force remained active and had been made more complex by the post-cold-war situation, the proliferation of operations, and the budgetary constraints which they entailed. Some of the operations had been criticized, particularly with regard to the loss of human life and their financial implications.

45. The concept of peace-keeping had undergone considerable change and now covered peacemaking and peace-building. The Malaysian delegation had no conceptual difficulties with the issue, but it wished to reaffirm that Malaysia, as a troop-contributing country, attached particular significance to the mandate and the command-control structure of the operations. Malaysian troops had been sent to Somalia, not to arrest anyone but to help to feed Somali people.

46. It was important for troop-contributing countries to be consulted about important decisions and informed at an early stage about developments in the situation. While it welcomed the Secretariat's efforts to keep Member States informed, Malaysia underlined the need for close consultations between the

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

Security Council and all Member States, particularly the troop-contributing ones, in order to dispel the impression that the Council, dominated by the Western countries, was increasingly taking questionable decisions, the execution of which was left to other Member States, as in the case of Somalia, from which certain important States had withdrawn for domestic political reasons and where soon perhaps only third-world troops would remain.

47. Mistakes had been made in some operations, in particular in Somalia, Iraq and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and any intervention, irrespective of whether it was conducted under the heading "preventive diplomacy" or "humanitarian action", must have the support not only of the five permanent members of the Security Council but also of the whole international community, and it must be based on a clear mandate. The developing countries believed that neither the United Nations nor the international community had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Member States.

48. Intervention should be based on the following principles: there must be a request from the existing Government or, failing that, consultations with the principal actors and the States of the region; the United Nations must act consistently; troop-contributing countries must honour their commitments and must not withdraw their troops if lives were lost; and the United Nations must supervise the preparation and training of the multinational force.

49. Since the aim of the operation was to continue to seek a durable political and diplomatic solution, the United Nations must not be seen as endorsing the designs of its powerful and influential Members if they were seeking to impose their will on the weak and small.

50. The financial crisis might well compromise the very viability of the concept of collective security, for it might encourage the application of selective and double standards in addressing threats to international peace and security. The tragedy in Bosnia and Herzegovina provided a clear example. If the situation there persisted, it would be left to the rich nations alone to conduct peace-keeping operations, and that would run counter to the concepts of universality and the collective responsibility of the international community with regard to peace-keeping and international security. In view of the importance of the issue for the Organization's credibility, the principles and guidelines for the financing of peace-keeping operations must be followed in all cases. The Malaysian delegation called upon Member States to pay their contributions and support the proposal for consideration of the diversification of sources of finance.

51. It was not certain that at present the United Nations was capable of managing the many new and complex operations which it was called upon to undertake. The Malaysian delegation was ready to work with other delegations to find a solution to the problem. It welcomed the continuation of the existing training programmes for military personnel and urged that programmes designed for the civilian participants in the operations should be established. The offer of some Member States to train their nationals participating in the operations was welcome, but Malaysia favoured a more consolidated approach to

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

training, which should be administered by the Secretariat in close coordination with Member States, and the coordination of the training programmes at the national and regional levels.

52. It was also important to guarantee the security of peace-keeping personnel, and any hostile action against United Nations troops must be resolutely and collectively condemned. The Malaysian delegation was willing to collaborate in the drafting of a legal instrument for that purpose.

53. Peace-keeping was a costly undertaking, and any peace-keeping operation must be temporary and never regarded as a substitute for the long-term political settlement of a conflict. The United Nations must first exhaust all the possibilities of Chapter VI of the Charter concerning the pacific settlement of disputes.

54. Malaysia agreed with the Administrator of UNDP that it would be better to increase allocations for preventive development, for it was less costly to take preventive action than to have to confront crises.

55. Mr. SIMMONS (Australia) said that the enormous changes which had recently occurred in the international environment - an encouraging trend leading towards a new international system of cooperation but matched by an increase in regional crises - had augmented the demands made on the United Nations, particularly with respect to peace-keeping. The cost of peace-keeping operations, even with the completion of the mission in Cambodia, was still far higher than what had been considered normal during the cold war.

56. The new sense of cooperation, coupled with active measures to make the Organization more capable of carrying out its expanded role, was encouraging, but recent events, particularly in Somalia, Haiti and the former Yugoslavia, had raised serious and worrying questions about the role and capacity of the United Nations. The Organization now stood at a crossroads, and that made the work of the Committee all the more important. In that regard, Australia applauded the remarkable report of the Secretary-General entitled "An Agenda for Peace" and was encouraged by the enlargement of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, the creation of a stand-by forces planning team, and the work on the development of a United Nations logistics doctrine.

57. In those circumstances, it was essential to define the conditions for effective peace-keeping. Speaking before the General Assembly on 27 September 1993, the Australian Foreign Minister had presented a list of seven basic conditions for ensuring such effectiveness: establishing clear and achievable goals, the provision of adequate resources, close coordination of peace-keeping with peacemaking, the clear impartiality of the peace-keepers, local support of the peace-keeping operations, manifest external support (from major Powers, regional Powers or neighbours and from regional international organizations) and a set of specific criteria for the termination of a specific operation.

(Mr. Simmons, Australia)

58. It was also important to enable the United Nations to organize and administer peace-keeping operations effectively. Priority areas for action included the safety of United Nations personnel, command and control of peace-keeping operations, the improvement of Headquarters organization and planning and the financing of peace-keeping operations.

59. United Nations peace-keeping operations had always involved risk but the recent increase in the number of deaths among peace-keepers was alarming. Australia strongly supported the initiative by New Zealand in the Sixth Committee to develop a new international legal instrument creating legal obligations on States parties to protect United Nations personnel and to punish those responsible for attacks on members of the peace-keeping forces.

60. Australia attached critical importance to the command and control of peace-keeping operations. Those operations involved three levels of command - strategic, operational and tactical - and it was essential that their uniqueness be recognized and that resources be allocated to each level which would be sufficient to carry out its tasks. The United Nations Secretariat was a strategic level headquarters but commanders in the field must be given more control of their day-to-day operations. It was also essential to cement the principle of unity of command as independent decisions taken by the countries furnishing contingents could adversely affect the safety of other contingents.

61. There was also a case for a thorough review of the way the Secretariat was organized and financed to meet its peace-keeping responsibilities. Australia believed that such a review should be conducted externally in order to determine whether the current centralized system should be devolved and to determine the optimum organization to facilitate coordination interdepartmentally as well as with the specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations.

62. Turning to the financing of peace-keeping, it had long been accepted that it was the collective responsibility of all Member States and that should continue to be the guiding principle. The financing of peace-keeping needed to be put on a firmer footing and, while the only completely satisfactory solution was for all Member States to pay in full and on time, other options must also be considered in order to enhance efficiency and streamline costs. There was also a need to ensure that the peace-keeping reserve fund was used solely for the purpose for which it was established and to increase it to a more useful size of around $400 million, as proposed in the Volcker-Ogata report. The greatest need remained the establishment of a unified budget for United Nations peace-keeping operations, with separate line items for each operation. A number of other proposals should be looked at as well. Australia attached great importance to the question and considered that it required an effective and pragmatic response.

63. Mr. McKINNON (New Zealand), referring to the question of command and control of United Nations peace-keeping operations, said that the chain of command should be clearly established so as to avoid any possibility of ambiguity. With respect to consultative arrangements, his Government had already recorded its view that it was essential to develop mechanisms,

(Mr. McKinnon, New Zealand)

appropriately devised for each case, to enable the Security Council, through informal working groups or similar processes, to consult with Member States not having a special interest in the issue in order to receive their advice on resolutions relating to peace-keeping operations. That was all the more important because current management of peace-keeping operations did not function entirely as envisaged by the Charter. There were provisions in the Charter pointing clearly to the expectation that the Security Council and the Secretariat should be more cognizant of the interests of those who contributed forces to United Nations operations when decisions were made on those operations.

64. He welcomed the transfer of the Field Operations Division to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the establishment of a Situation Centre, noting that New Zealand would be seconding an officer to the Centre shortly. He would also recall that it remained important to ensure that the Secretariat peace-keeping establishment was fully staffed, with the relevant qualified expertise, so that it could function effectively. In that connection, he pointed out that the resources of the United Nations and Member States could be supplemented by drawing on personnel from non-governmental sources or by expanding the practice of contracting for services, although it was essential that in such cases the civilian components did not become the poor relations in a peace-keeping operation.

65. New Zealand welcomed the establishment of a stand-by forces study team. In addition to being an invaluable aid to national planning, the team would facilitate more rapid deployment of United Nations forces. As peace-keeping operations involved the deployment of military, civilian and police personnel, training played a critical role in order to ensure the cohesion of the unit. In that connection, New Zealand also applauded the initiatives of those Member States which were planning to develop institutions for that purpose, while emphasizing that there was scope for cooperation between Member States in regional training programmes.

66. The reputation of the United Nations had been sullied in the past year by ill-informed or prejudiced reports concerning some of its operations. New Zealand considered that it was crucial for the Secretary-General to make information on peace-keeping operations a matter of the utmost priority.

67. In view of the fact that the number of fatalities among United Nations peace-keepers continued to rise, New Zealand considered it unacceptable that those forces should have inadequate legal and physical protection. For that reason, it had proposed that an international instrument be negotiated which would establish clearly individual criminal responsibility for attacks on United Nations peace-keepers and other associated personnel. He emphasized, lastly, that if Member States did not give the Organization the resources to carry out the tasks it wished performed they could hardly complain about the adequacies of its performance.

68. Mr. DUTTA (India), rapidly reviewing the background of the question, recalled that his delegation had in the past stressed that United Nations peace-keeping operations should be mandated only after consent from all involved parties. Furthermore, the necessity for mandating United Nations operations should be determined objectively on the basis of consultation with the parties concerned, realistic mandates should be specified, and it should be ensured that operations were in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. In addition, before taking any military measures under Chapter VII of the Charter, all the other peaceful means provided for under Chapter VI must have been exhausted.

69. Given the rapid growth in the number and therefore the cost of peace-keeping operations, they should continue to be financed according to the principle of assessed contributions, to be paid in full and on time. It was therefore important for the Organization to address that problem, especially because the unacceptable delays in reimbursing the troop-contributing countries penalized primarily the developing countries. As to the human and material resources, his Government, which always stood ready to cooperate with the United Nations, looked forward to continuing its contacts with the stand-by forces planning team in order to have a clearer understanding of the Secretary-General's proposal on the matter.

70. The training of peace-keeping personnel was a national function, although of course the United Nations should provide training guidelines and manuals for military, civilian and police personnel. India welcomed the publication of a training manual by the United Nations.

71. All operations should be placed under the unified command and control of the United Nations; at the same time, it was important to involve the troop-contributing States in decision-making, both at Headquarters and in the field.

72. In view of the increase in the number of casualties among the United Nations peace-keepers, the Organization should review the measures guaranteeing personnel security. India, whose own troops had died in various peace-keeping operations, wished to stress that the relevant legal framework to be established should in no way contravene existing international law.

73. While the experience gained during the past year had highlighted the prominent role of the United Nations in peace-keeping, it had at the same time illustrated the difficulties created by a departure from certain traditional principles and concepts. There should also be no hesitation in ending those operations which had become either obsolete or ineffective.

74. Mr. HOLOHAN (Ireland) said that he fully supported the statement made by the representative of Belgium on behalf of the European Union.

75. Over the course of the past 12 months, the very concept of United Nations peace-keeping and its practical application had developed dramatically. As new missions had been deployed, there had been a fivefold increase in the expenditure for peace-keeping in just four years. More significant was the changing nature of the operations: the past year had seen the first peace

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enforcement operation deployed under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, in Somalia, and the successful completion of the largest and most complex operation thus far undertaken, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Ireland favoured such changes and believed that the United Nations must be given the means to enable it to carry out the role that the international community clearly desired of it. Ireland itself had in 1993 taken part in 10 ongoing missions and had adopted new national legislation permitting the Irish defence forces to participate in operations under Chapter VII.

76. Nevertheless, it was to have been expected that such an evolution would not be without difficulties. What was most important was to learn from experience and make the appropriate adjustments. For instance, it was simply not acceptable that local people should regard peace-keepers as though they were invading enemy forces, and a repetition of that kind of tragic situation must absolutely be avoided. The ideal situation would of course be one where the United Nations was invited into a territory by all the parties in dispute and where its role in keeping the peace was understood and accepted by all. Unfortunately that was not always possible, but it was essential that the United Nations should at all costs avoid being seen as taking sides in a dispute. It must be made evident to all that its sole objective was to re-establish peace and ensure the welfare of the people.

77. His delegation wished to make certain suggestions in that connection. The first was to give more attention to issues of command and control and to conduct operations within an overall framework with clear political objectives. It was also necessary to ensure the maximum degree of coordination and consultation between the Secretary-General, the troop contributors and the Security Council, which was, of course, the body with primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security. It was heartening that exchanges of information and situation reports were already more frequent. Consequently, his delegation wholeheartedly supported the draft resolution on the question of command and control (A/C.4/48/L.19). It should be noted that, together with the difficulties, there had been some remarkable successes (in Cambodia, for instance, and in Somalia outside Mogadishu), from which lessons could usefully be drawn for future operations.

78. The second area to be considered was that of the administrative arrangements for the management of peace-keeping operations at Headquarters. Ireland favoured strengthening the Secretariat services responsible for peace-keeping and supported the proposals put forward by the Secretary-General in the proposed programme budget for the biennium 1994-1995, which called for a substantial increase in the resources of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations and the strengthening of its structure. The advice of the troop-contributing countries could be useful in that regard.

79. Equally important was the question of the financing of peace-keeping operations. It was distressing to note that, as peace-keeping expenditure reached unprecedented levels, the general willingness of Member States to bear the financial responsibility involved appeared to be diminishing, and it was the troop-contributing countries that were obliged to shoulder the burden resulting

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from that shortfall in payment of assessed contributions. It was time for Member States to recognize that they had a responsibility - moral, legal and political - to settle their arrears and in future to pay their contributions in full and on time.

80. Ireland had always attached the utmost priority to the safety and security of peace-keeping personnel, and welcomed the recent report of the Secretary-General outlining measures for improving the security conditions of personnel in the field. It fully supported the New Zealand proposal in the Sixth Committee to draw up a legally binding international instrument to reinforce existing measures in that area. It should also not be overlooked that primary responsibility for security rested with the host Government and with the parties to conflict situations whose activities might endanger the security, if not the lives, of United Nations personnel and of personnel of non-governmental and other organizations involved in humanitarian relief.

81. Lastly, he paid tribute to all who had served or were serving the noble cause of peace. He hoped that it would soon be possible to erect a memorial at Headquarters recording the names of the more than one thousand brave men and women who had died while serving the United Nations since 1948. Such a tribute was long overdue.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.